Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

IO-10 OMB-01 /071 W

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R 151113Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1041

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

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E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PINT, TU

SUBJECT: UNKNOWNS CLOUD INTERPRETATION OF ELECTION RESULTS

1. THE EFFECT OF THE OCTOBER 12 ELECTIONS ON THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO ACT ON CYPRUS AND THE U.S. BASES ISSUE IS NOT IMMEDIATELY CLEAR. WE SEE AT LEAST FOUR MAJOR AREAS OF UNCERTAINTY WHERE CLARIFICATION AWAITS INTERPRETATION OF THE ELECTION RESULTS BY THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND TURKISH PUBLIC.

A. DEMIREL AND HIS ENLARGED AND STRENGTHENED JUSTICE PARTY (JP) MUST NOW DECIDE HOW STRONG THEY ARE AND WHAT RANGE OF FREEDOM THEY HAVE TO ACT ON FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS. DEMIREL COULD EMERGE MORE AND MORE AS THE LEADER, RATHER THAN THE MANAGER, OF THE GOVERNMENT COALITION, IF HE FEELS SUFFICIENTLY STRENGTHENED. THE LIKELY PROSPECT OF FURTHER TRANSFERS FROM INDEPENDENT, REPUBLICAN RELIEANCE (RR) AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DP) RANKS TO THE JP SHOULD HELP.

B. THE NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY (NSP) MUST ALSO DECIDE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WHERE ITS BEST INTERESTS LIE: TO REMAIN WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT,

WITH THE LIKELY REQUIREMENT OF SUBMITTING TO SOME FORM OF DISCIPLINE, BUT CONTINUING TO ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF PATRONAGE TO PARTY SUPPORTERS AND "IMMUNITY" FROM POSSIBLE PROSECUTION; OR TO REMAIN THE GOVERNMENT MAVERICK AND HOPE TO CONTINUE TO OBSTRUCT A CYPRUS "SELL OUT" WITHOUT HAVING TO MAKE THE DIFFICULT DECISION OF BRINGING DOWN THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT BY RESIGNING FROM THE COALITION. OUR HUNCH IS THAT THEY WILL SETTLE ON A MIDDLE COURSE, CONTINUING, FOR A TIME AT LEAST, TO PLAY A GADFLY ROLE BUT NOT FORCING DISSOLUTION OF THE COALITION.

C. THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (RPP) WAS RECONFIRMED AS THE LARGEST PARTY AND CAN PROCLAIM ITSELF IN TERMS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULAR VOTE, THE VICTOR OF THE ELECTIONS. BUT IT MUST NOW CONTEND WITH A JP WHICH ALSO CONSIDERS ITSELF TO HAVE WON THE ELECTIONS. THE RPP MUST DECIDE WHETHER IT WILL BE A COOPERATIVE OR ANTAGONISTIC OPPOSITION. IN ATTACKING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, THE RPP COULD BECOME MORE COOPERATIVE, SINCE ITS POSITION IS NOT GREATLY AT VARIANCE WITH DEMIREL'S, AND COULD THUS GIVE DEMIREL SOME LEVERAGE TO OVERCOME INTERNAL RESISTANCE TO A SOLUTION WITHIN HIS COALITION.

RECENT HISTORY, HOWEVER, SUGGESTS THAT THE RPP WILL DO LITTLE
TO ASSIST DEMIREL, BUT WILL INSTEAD ATTEMPT TO CAPITALIZE ON WHAT
IT VIEWS AS "MISTAKES" IN THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY. RPP'S PREELECTION RHETORIC SUGGESTS IT MAY BE EVEN LESS COOPERATIVE ON THE
ISSUE OF U.S. MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN TURKEY. ECEVIT'S DEMAND THAT
DEMIREL REJECT THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO BECAUSE IT IS "CONDITIONAL"
IS TYPICAL OF THE HARSH WORDS THAT RPP USEDIN DISCUSSING THE BILATERAL

RELATIONSHIP DURING THE CAMPAIGN. AN RPP DECISION TO COOPERATE WITH THE JP ON THIS ISSUE TO FACILITATE RESUMPTION OF ACTIVITIES AT THE

COMMON DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS WOULD REPRESENT A MAJOR CHANGE IN RPP'S PUBLIC POSTURE IF NOT ITS POLICY POSITION. FINALLY, ECEVIT AND HIS PARTY COULD HAVE A ROLE IN DETERMING THE EXTENT OF STUDENT VIOLENCE DURING THE UNIVERSITYYEAR JUST BEGINNING. IF THE RPP DECIDES TO BE COOPERATIVE, IT COULD HELP DAMPEN THE VIOLENCE OF STUDENT DISORDERS.

D. THE NEW SELF-IMAGES OF THE JP, RPP AND NSP WILL DETERMINE THE LIKELIHOOD OF EARLY ELECTIONS. DEMIREL, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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STRENGTHENED BY HIS PARTY'S PERFORMANCE IN THE PARTIAL SENAT ELECTIONS CAN NOW FACE EARLY ELECTIONS WITH LESS TREPIDATION THAN BEFORE, BUT IF HE IS ABLE TO CONTROL THE COALITION, HE HAS NO REASON TO TAKE A CHANCE ON LOSING HIS PREMIERSHIP. ECEVIT, ALTHOUGH TAKING CLOSE TO 44 PERCENT OF THE VOTE, MAY ALSO NOW HAVE SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT EARLY ELECTIONS SINCE THE PROSPECT OF COMING TO POWER ALONE IS NOT AS "CERTAIN" AS MANY RPP PARTISANS HAD PREVIOUSLY SUPPOSED. (IT HAD BECOME AN ARTICLE OF FAITH WITH MANY

IN THE RPP THAT IT WAS THE PARTY OF THE FUTURE AND THAT WINNING A MAJORITY OF THE POPULAR VOTE WAS NOT SIMPLY LIKELY BUT INEVITABLE.) THE NSP, ALTHOUGH DIMINISHED IN PERCENTAGE, INCREASED ITS SENATE REPRESENTATION AND WITH ITS ETERNAL OPTIMISM PROCLAIMED THE RESULT A VICTORY. IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THE NSP FAVORS EARLY ELECTIONS (ONE OF ITS FEW CONSISTENCIES HAS BEEN THAT ELECTIONS SHOULD NOT BE HELD UNTIL THEIR SCHEDULED DATE IN 1977) BUT IT COULD DECIDE TO BRING DOWN THE GOVERNMENT OVER A MAJOR ISSUE, SUCH AS A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. AND GAMBLE ON CONVERTING ITS OPPOSTION INTO ELECTION STRENGTH. WHILE EARLY ELECTIONS COULD POSSIBLY RESULT IN THE FORMATION OF A STRONGER GOVERNMENT, THE IMMEDIATE EFFECT OF A DECISION TO HOLD ELECTIONS WOULD BE TO PROJECT THE GOVERNMENT INTO ANOTHER PRE-ELECTION PERIOD--ONE IN WHICH FLEXIBILITY ON MAJOR ISSUES WOULD BE EVEN MORE LIMITED THAN IT WAS IN THE PERIOD BEFORE THE OCTOBER 12 ELECTIONS. MACOMBER

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